

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CCO-00 NSC-05 DODE-00 /059 W

----- 067289

O R 092002Z DEC 76 ZFF-6

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SECTO 32047

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, US, UK, FR, OVIP (ISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL MEETING; BERLIN

AND GERMANY ASPECTS

BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE DEC 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING, THE FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS APPROVED THE TEXT OF THE BERLIN AND GERMANY PASSAGE FOR THE NATO COMMUNIQUE. THEY ALSO APPROVED THE TEXT OF THE BERLIN ASSESSMENT PREPARED BY THE BONN GROUP AND ACCEPTED THE RECOMMENDATIONS FORMUALTED IN THE DEC 8 SENIOR LEVEL MEETING CONCERNING THE BRIEFING PROJECTON BERLIN, THE STUDY ON PROLEMS IN REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN INTERESTS ABROAD, AND FUTURE STUDY IN THE BONN GROUP OF PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH BERLIN'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE EC. END SUMMARY

1. THE SEMI-ANNUAL QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL MEETING ON BERLIN AND GERMANY ON THE EVENING OF DEC 8 WAS ATTENDED BY THE SECRETARY, UK SECRETARY OF STATE CROSLAND, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGUAD, FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, AND THEIR ADVISERS. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND WAS CHAIRED BY CROSLAND.

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2. CROSLAND CALLED ON FCO DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HIBBERT, WHO HAD CHAIRED THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING THE MORNING OF DEC 8, TO REPORT TO MINISTERS ON THAT MEETING, THEN INVITED MINISTERS TO COMMENT ON EACH OF THE ITEMS IN THE HIBBERT REPORT.

COMMUNIQUE

3. HIBBERT STATED THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON A COMMUNIQUE PASSAGE ON BERLIN AND GERMANY AND THAT THE TEXT HAD BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO OTHER NATO ALLIES, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WAS SUBJECT TO MINISTERIAL CONCURRENCE. ALL OF THE MINISTERS EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH THE TEXT (REPORTED IN SECTO 32023).

BERLIN ASSESSMENT

4. HIBBERT STATED THAT THE ASSESSMENT PRODUCED BY THE BONN GROUP HAD BEEN USED FOR BRIEFING OTHER NATO ALLIES ON DEC 1. SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD COMMENDED THE BONN GROUP FOR ITS WORK AND HAD DECIDED TO HAVE A SEPARATE DISCUSSION ON THE PARAGRAPH OF THE ASSESSMENT DEALING WITH EC PROBLEMS. CROSLAND ASKED WHETHER THE ASSESSMENT WAS ACCEPTABLE TO THE MINISTERS AND NOTED NO DISSENT.

BRIEFING PROJECT

5. HIBBERT DESCRIBED THE STUDY PREPARED BY THE BONN GROUP AND REPORTED THAT THE TEXT HAD BEEN APPROVED AT THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING. THE PURPOSE, HE SAID, WAS TO BRIEF FRIENDLY POWERS AND OUR OWN DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES SO THAT THEY WOULD BE PROPERLY ARMED TO CHALLENGE SOVIET PROTESTS. SENIOR OFFICIALS HAVE DECIDED TO ASK THE BONN GROUP TO DRAW UP A LIST OF FRIENDLY STATES TO WHOM THE STUDY MIGHT BE GIVEN AND HAD ALSO AGREED THAT THE TEXT SHOULD BE COMMUNICATED TO ALLIED AND FRG EMBASSIES AND MISSIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THESE EMBASSIES AND MISSIONS SHOULD DRAW ON THE BRIEFING PAPER AS NECESSARY AND, IF THEY THOUGHT IT SHOULD BE USED MORE FULLY, THEY SHOULD MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE BONN GROUP.

6. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD HAVE MISGIVINGS ABOUT HANDING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAPER OVER TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AS THIS MIGHT FORCE THE SOVIETS TO MAKE A REJOINDER. HIBBERT EXPLAINED THAT THIS PROBLEM HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AND THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD AGREED THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN DANGERS. THIS WAS WHY DELEGATIONS WERE TO SEEK GUIDANCE VIA THE BONN GROUP BEFORE ACTUALLY GIVING THE PAPER TO INTERNATIONAL OFFICIALS. ON THIS BASIS, THE RECOMMENDATIONS AS PRESENTED BY HIBBERT ARE ACCEPTED BY THE MINISTERS.

REPRESENTATION STUDY

7. HIBBERT DESCRIBED THE BONN GROUP STUDY ON PROBLEMS IN REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN INTERESTS ABROAD AND REPORTED THAT IT CONTAINED RECOMMENDATIONS ON LINES FOR FUTURE QUADRIPARTITE POLICY. HIBBERT CONTINUED THAT FRG POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL HAD EXPLAINED TO SENIOR OFFICIALS THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WISHED TO LAUNCH A CONCERTED EFFORT TO UNBLOCK THE TREATY COOPERATION WHICH HAD BEEN FROZEN SINCE 1973. HE HAD ALSO EXPLAINED THE NECESSITY OF INCLUDING BERLIN IN ANY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EC AND CEMA AND IN FUTURE PAN-EUROPEAN AGREEMENTS SUCH AS CSCE.

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8. HIBBERT STATED THAT THE BONN GROUP HAD REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON THE REPRESENTATION STUDY AT THE END OF NOVEMBER BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN INSUFFICIENT TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE STUDY IN CAPITALS. ON THE BASIS OF GUIDANCE PROVIDED IN THE SENIOR LEVEL MEETING ON THE MORNING OF DEC 8, OFFICIALS HAD MET THAT AFTERNOON TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE OPTIONS PORTION OF THE PAPER. THE REVISED TEXT OF THE OPTIONS EMERGING FROM THAT MEETING HAD BEEN CIRCULATED TO SENIOR OFFICIALS, WHO FOUND IT SATISFACTORY. THE BONN GROUP WOULD BE ASKED TO COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON THE REST OF THE PAPER IN THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO.

9. IN THE ENSUING DISCUSSION, GENSCHER STATED THAT BOTH THE BRIEFING PROJECT AND THE REPRESENTATION STUDY WERE OF EXTRAORDINARY SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FRG. THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH THE FRG WAS ENCOUNTERING WERE WELL KNOWN TO ALL FOUR, AND THE FRG WAS APPRECIATIVE OF THE VERY SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT EXPRESSED IN THESE TWO PAPERS FOR THE FRG POSITION. AFTER DISCUSSIN, CROSLAND NOTED THAT ALL FOUR MINISTERS WERE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE OPTIONS IN THE REPRESENTATION STUDY.

SITUATION IN THE GDR AND FRG/GDR RELATIONS
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10. HIBBERT REPORTED THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD COMMENTED ON THESE TWO ITEMS ON THE BASIS OF A VERY HELPFUL AND INFORMATIVE REPORT BY VAN WELL, COVERING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN THE GDR AND THE RECENT GOVERNMENTAL SHIFTS. SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD NOTED A COMMON EXPERIENCE, THA THE GDR WAS ANXIOUS TO ENHANCE ITS DIPLOMATIC STANDING WHILE OFFERING LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE TO CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS. MINISTERS AGREED TO DEFER DISCUSSION OF THIS TOPIC UNTIL AFTER DINNER.

BERLIN AND THE EC

11. HIBBERT STATED THAT SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD DISCUSSED TWO ASPECTS OF THE BERLIN/EC RELATIONSHIP --RENEWED SOVIET CRITICISMS OF THE DECISION TO INCLUDE BERLINERS IN A DIRECTLY-ELECTED EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE NEED FOR ASSURING THE EXTENSION TO BERLIN OF AN EC/CEMA AGREEMENT. ON THE QUESTION OF HOW TO ANSWER THE MOST RECENT SOVIET PROTEST ON DIRECT ELECTIONS, SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD AGREED ON SEVERAL POINTS THAT SHOULD BE MADE, IN PARTICULAR THA THE INCLUSION OF BERLINERS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, IN THE MANNER ENVISAGED, WOULD NOT AFFECT EITHER THE TIES BETWEEN BERLINAND THE FRG OR ALLIED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO ENTR INTO AN ARGUMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POSSIBLE FUTURE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, AND WE SHOULD NOT EXPOSE MORE OF A FRONT ON THIS ISSUE THANWE HAVE SO FAIR. WE SHOULD AVOID BRINGING THE DISPUTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO A HEAD OVER THE QUESTION OF DIRECT ELECTIONS, BUT RATHER SHOULD LET IT BE BROUGHT TO A HEAD OVER THE QUESTION OF THE EC/CEMA AGREEMENT, AN ISSUE IN WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE A MORE DIRECT INTEREST AND THEREFORE MAY BE MORE WILLING TO COMPROMISE.

ON THE QUESTION OFHOW ARTICLE 6 OF THE DRAFT EC/CEMA AGREEMENT, THE AREA OF APPLICABILITY CLAUSE, COLD BE GIVEN EFFECT TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT BERLIN WAS INCLUDED, SENIOR OFFICIALS HAD AGREED THAT THE BONN GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER THE MATTER FURTHER, IF NECESSARY WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF EC EXPERTS FROM FRANCE, THE UK, AND THE FRG.

12. IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIN OF THIS ITEM, DE GUIRINGAUD COMMENTED THAT THE FRENCH HAD ALEADY MADE THE WESTERN POSITION CLEAR T THE SOVIETS. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW HAD TOLD GROMYKO THAT, CONFIDENTIAL

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IN THE FRENCH VIEW, THE ASSOCIATION OF BERLIN WITH DIRECT ELECTIONS IN THE MANNER ENVISAGED WOULD NOT AFFECT THE RIGHTS OF THE FOUR POWERS IN BERLIN, AND THER WAS NOTHING FOR THE SOVIETS TO PROTEST. GENSCHER SAID THAT THE POSITION THE FRENCH HAD EXPRESSED TO THE SOVIETS WAS HIGHLY SATISFACTORY. WITH REGARD TO EC/CEMA RELATIONS, CROSLAND NOTED THA THE QUESTION OF EXTENSION OF AN AGREEMENT TO BERLIN HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE EC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THAT ALL MINISTERS WERE DETERMINED THAT, AS GENSCHER HAD REQUESTED, THE AGREEMENT SHOULD APPLY TO BERLIN. CROSLAND ASKED WHETHER THE PROPOSAL FOR REMANDING THE QUESTION TO THE BONN GROUP FOR FURTHER STUDY IN CONJUNCTIN WITH THE THREE COREPER REPRESENTATIVES WAS SATISFACORY. ALL MINISTERS CONCURRED.

13. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, MINISTERS AGREED ON GUIDANCE FOR USE BY THEIR PRESS SPOKESMEN. BRIEFINGS WOULD BE BASED ON MATTERS TREATED IN THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE ON BERLIN AND PARTICULAR ATTENTION WOULD BE DRAWN TO THE FOUR MINISTERS' STRONG SUPORT FOR THE FRG'S RIGHT TO REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF WEST BERLIN ABROAD. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS, MEETING REPORTS, COMMUNIQUEs
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SECTO32047
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760455-0802
From: SECRETARY BRUSSELS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761258/aaaabxrf.tel
Line Count: 251
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 APR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DECEMBER 1976 QUADRIpartite MINISTERIAL MEETING: BERLIN AND GERMANY ASPECTS BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE DEC 8 QUADRIpartite MEETING
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, OVIP, WB, GE, US, UK, FR, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006